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L E T T E R

TO THE

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E A R L

OF

C A R L I S L E,

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

W I L L I A M E D E N,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

THE LATE ARRANGEMENT.

D U B L I N:

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

A MOST incorrect Copy of the following Letter having been surreptitiously introduced into the Newspapers, it is now become necessary to lay before the Public an accurate Transcript of the Original.—The Author would, by no Means, have obtruded the Detail of his private Ideas on a Subject almost exclusively personal to himself, had not the unwarrantable Licence of a fabricated Representation rendered this Appeal indispensably necessary.

Per sidera juro,
Per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus—tuo de littore cessi.

Sed me jussa Deum, quæ nunc has ire per umbras
Per loca fœta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
Imperiis egere tuis; nec credere quivi

Hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.

Siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.—

Quem fugis?—

ÆNEIDOS, Lib. 6.

TO THE
EARL of CARLISLE.

Beckenham, Dec. 5, 1785.

My dear Lord,

I SHOULD consider it a most unpardon-
able omission not to instantly impart to
your Lordship my having this moment ac-
cepted the office of Commissarial Envoy to
the

the Court of Paris, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial arrangement between the two countries, agreeably to the relevant Article of the late treaty of peace.

The unreserved confidence with which your Lordship has invariably honoured me, and that repeated partiality for my poor services which introduced me, as well to a participation in the American commission, as to the highest office of trust and responsibility

bility under your Lordship's administration in Ireland, most forcibly appeal to my heart for every possible return of gratitude and attachment; and I hope and trust, that my dispatching this earliest announcement of my recent acceptance will be candidly understood by your Lordship in the sense in which it is faithfully intended, as a decisive and unequivocal voucher of my warmest predilection and most unabating respect.

B Undoubtedly,

Undoubtedly, my dear Lord, it is far from my intention in the present emergency to exclude many others, with whom I have lately had the honour to act, from a similar disclosure of my new situation: on the contrary, I will candidly confess to your Lordship, that, conjointly with my acquiescence in Mr. Pitt's spontaneous offer, was blended a firm resolution upon my part to enter into a very extended series of epistolary eclaircissement upon this sudden, this

unex-

unexpected aberration from my former line.

But early habits, tried friendship, and accepted services, irresistably impel me to auspicate the idea by a prior communication to your Lordship; for doubtless there will not be wanting a malignant class of mortals solicitous to pervert my motives, importunate to evince an incongruity in my code of declared thought and consentaneous action.

To be shut out from your Lordship's con-

fidence, to be even excluded from the soci-
 able familiarity of your table, are but infe-
 rior calamities to those which I have now
 to dread from the flagitious industry of my
 enemies. A philosophical spirit might gra-
 dually reconcile me to the losses I have men-
 tioned, especially under my own increased
 arrangements, and the consequent multitude
 of my new avocations. But worse effects,
 and more extensive ill consequences, may
 too probably beset me. My honour, my
 reputa-

reputation, are at stake. Your Lordship's avowed condemnation of my conduct would as certainly affix a stigma, as your former partiality lent a credit to my character. The title of unprincipled adventurer, my Lord, is not easily endured. In the name of Heaven then, what are these mighty offences which are to involve me in unmerited disgrace? I have heard, that, in the fiery trial of my faith, my *five printed letters* to your Lordship are to be subpoenaed by

my

my adversaries, as the strongest testimonies of my departure from the principles they profess. I will not comment on the extreme unfairness of recurring to my papers for the means of criminating their author. Possibly the great case of Algernon Sidney will not escape your Lordship's well-stored mind. To your own candour, to your own benignity, I entrust the parallel. But permit me to remark, that the very date of the letters in question contains an internal evidence

evidence of their total irrelevancy to the present discussion: for your Lordship will observe, that the letters in question were first printed so long back as the 19th of October, 1779—a pretty considerable period in political life; and surely by far too remote a distance to be reverted to as a fair criterion of the consistency or incongruity of an existing with a past opinion. Hasty and immoderate expressions of occasional enthusiasm cannot reasonably be excluded, in any

case,

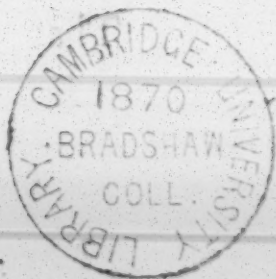
case, from the healing operation of supplemental sentiment, still left in one, where the natural revolution of years has superinduced a variety of circumstances, all gradually tending, like the hand of time on the corporeal system, to discompose each atom of the mental frame, to overturn each visionary hope of intellectual identity.

Neither should it wholly be forgotten, that, during every hour, every moment of
that

that tedious interval, (which, allow me to remark, not only amounts to the full period of five years, but also to a fraction, which there are, who would calculate as a quarterage) much more of the real active work of opposition has been vigorously, effectuated by my means alone, than almost by any ten others of my then fellow labourers on the side of the Constitution. Possibly, indeed, it might wear the semblance of vanity to insist on both my

C

public



public and private affiduities in that desperate cause. Suffice it to assure your Lordship, that even the task of index researches, and the wearisome labour imposed on me of examining the votes, the journals, and the rolls of Parliament, for precedents to the strong resolutions of 1783, were far inferior to the toils which I voluntarily undertook, in working on the hopes, the fears, the ambition, the pride, and the absurdity of lukewarm followers and irresolute abettors.

That

That I spontaneously stood forth the original projector, as well as the final accomplisher of the Coalition, is an indisputable voucher of my earnest activity and indefatigable zeal. As long as that phalanx was entire, where could it boast a more determined hand? But, when the ranks are broken, with what consistency is the bravest volunteer to be for ever excluded from all other service?

But, my Lord, there is another ground of defence, a tenderer plea for justification ; a topic of uncommon delicacy, and much more home to both our feelings.—Since I presented my *five* letters to your Lordship, *three* children, as your Lordship very well knows, have been added to my family : a *jus trium*, my dear Lord, which, were I inclined to ludicrous observation, I might urge, even in the penal system of party, as no unreasonable plea for mitigating the
 severe

severe penalties of political commutation.—

But to be serious—To *you*, my Lord, I will fairly speak out—To *you* I will completely develop the genuine, though secret, feelings of my heart.—Friendship, such as our's has been, precludes all half communication.

Alas, my Lord, the classic portraiture of ancient patriotism, the splendid assemblage of Grecian and of Roman virtue, which

your

your Lordship has so long, so ardently admired, with even poetic transport; what is this airy, this unsubstantial pageant, but the childish pantomime of the schools, or the graver imposture of a college?—Is there a corner of the earth from which the strong hand of Power has not finally extirpated every seedling of liberty?—In our own times, has not Sweden most wisely exchanged a mixed for an absolute Monarchy?—How soon was the mob of Corsica reduced

to

to constitutional submission? — How instantly did the fever of Geneva liberty subside into an orderly and temperate subjection?

Cast your eyes, my Lord, on the great mass of our public debt — You are not to be deceived with the wordy system of liquidation — You know, that every new tax is an added sinew to the muscular strength of Monarchy. — What is the
boasted

boasted claim to personal freedom, if our property is daily and hourly pared and ground away? — In truth, my Lord, we can in future own but two orders of Englishmen—the wealthy superior, and the indigent vassal. — The forms indeed of our constitution may continue — They are the strongest levers on the national purse — but depend upon it, the House of Commons will never dare again to check that power, which has so completely awed them.

Where-

Wherefore then, my dear Lord, wherefore a fruitless adherence to the desperate cause of constitutional liberty? — What boots it, in her present confirmed dissolution, whether your Lordship and myself accompany the melancholy band of public mourners at the funeral of freedom, or fairly advance our claims for a rightful participation of her unmortgaged effects?

D

I know,

I know, my Lord, there are not a few who look forward with sanguine expectation to a period when all the junto cabaling system, which, at the present hour, completely triumphs, will wholly be overthrown. — But has it escaped your Lordship's penetrating mind, that no scheme, no intrigue, no advantage, by the depression of circumstances, will be left unpractised, to new mould a youthful mind, to detach

detach a juvenile heart, to distress, to allure, and to pervert an unpractised Prince! Alas, my Lord, you may indeed attain the public esteem—I have not the boldness to deny that you already possess it, to no inconsiderable degree! But what is the whistling of a name?—What but the coarse gratitude of the multitude, the barren applause of a giddy nation?

Such, my Lord, are a few of the innumerable considerations which I own have decided my mind to a complete abandonment of all party superstitions for the once prevalent idolatry of British liberty. Would to Heaven that the sincere, the feeble effusions of my pen could attach your Lordship to these cogent truths, which the necessity of self-defence have thus thoroughly extracted from a heart glowing with cordiality of
friendship,

friendship, and spurning at disguise. But
alas, my hopes on that point are, I own, but
dimmeſt ſhadows. For myſelf, I can de-
clare it from my inmoſt ſoul, no conflict of
circumſtances, no tempeſt in the political
horizon can overturn, can even ſhake the
enduring monument of friendship, which
your Lordſhip's ſervices have erected in the
faithfulleſt of hearts. Be witneſs, Heaven!
I eſteem, I adore the benefactor—though
fortune,

fortune, for a time, detach me from the
man.

Adieu,

My dear Lord,

I am ever,

With the truest attachment,

Unchangeably and faithfully,

Yours,

W. E D E N.



